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AN INTERPRETATION OF KATCINA WORSHIP.

MANY travellers and ethnologists who have visited the Pueblo Indians have witnessed and described their masked dances called *Katcinas*, but few have attempted to explain the meaning of these dances. It is commonly agreed that these performances are religious — giving to the adjective religious a meaning which would include primitive expressions of a religious sentiment. Without claiming to interpret satisfactorily this intricate cultus, I desire to offer a few suggestions bearing on its nature derived from several years' study among the Tusayan Indians of Arizona. Hopi linguistics shed no certain light on the origin of the word *Katcina*, and the fact that masked personages are known by the same name in the New Mexican pueblos has been interpreted to mean a derivation from that quarter.

Among the Hopi the name *Katcina* has at present three applications ; the first, apparently the original, to a masked man personating a supernal being with totemic characteristics ; the second, to a ceremonial dance, in which these masked personators appear in public ; and the third, to secular or religious images or pictures representing these same beings.

Katcinas are designated by distinctive names, as those of animals, plants, the sun, stars, and natural objects. Some have received their names from their songs, or peculiar cries which the personators utter, while other names are derived from pueblos or Indian stocks from which they have been adopted. The symbolism of the mask or other paraphernalia by which each is recognized, and the peculiar dance or step of the personator have given names to many others. It may be said without exaggeration that the names of Hopi *Katcinas* are numbered by hundreds. Each of these many different *Katcinas* may be further designated by colors, as yellow, red, green, black, and white. Masks differing in color alone, but preserving the same symbolic markings, are distinguished by names denoting those colors ; as Green Bear, White Bear, etc. *Katcinas* of the same name

form groups, in each of which there are representatives of brothers, sisters, mother, grandmother, and uncle; all bearing a common general name, with added specific name denoting that relationship. Groups containing all the relatives mentioned are not common, but in many we find male and female representatives distinguished from each other by the symbolism of their masks. The origin of the characteristic names of different Katcinas will not be here considered except so far as to say that it is found in totemism. The names of several Katcinas are the same as those of living clans, but there are many living clans having no corresponding Katcina of the same name. One Walpi clan is called the Katcina clan, a fact which is instructive, since it is probable that the name of the cult was introduced by this clan.

It would be wearisome, in this communication, to mention all the individual names of Katcinas,¹ or to give in detail the distinctive symbolism by which each is known. Nor need I describe the elaborate rites, distinctive songs, or characteristic prayers addressed to them, for we are now concerned with a more general question, to answer which resemblances rather than differences will be considered. Regarding the three applications of the word, the first is considered the original, the second and third derivative.

My first conclusion in an attempt to interpret the meaning of the Katcinas is that these personations represent the dead or the totemic ancients of clans; or, in other words, the spirits of deceased members of the clan with totemic symbolic paraphernalia characteristic of the ancients. Katcinas are breath bodies of the old people reincarnated in their traditional form.² This theory is supported by the character of mortuary prayers and exercises at time of burial. "You have become a Katcina: bring us rain," say the relatives of the deceased to the dead, before they inter them. This conception of the nature of the souls of those who have just died is extended also to the spirits of those who long ago passed away. The great host of ancients have apparently each in turn, on death, been regarded as Katcinas in the same way, and these spirits are supposed to form a population akin to the living, but endowed with greater power.

It is not necessary for me to present evidence that the American Indians have a well-defined aboriginal belief in a spirit life beyond the grave. Among the pueblos, where this belief is universal, the spirits or breath bodies are supposed to live in an underworld, not a "happy hunting ground,"³ a term not necessarily attractive to agri-

¹ I have a collection of pictures of Hopi Katcinas in which are represented over 250 different kinds.

² When a man dons the paraphernalia of the Katcina he "becomes a Katcina."

³ A congenial habitation after death for hunter tribes. The name among the

culturists, but in a world of shades blessed beyond that of their terrestrial residence when embodied. This future life is neither one of punishment for violation of ethical laws, nor one of bliss for the just, but is a complement to that on earth. From this place of shades come at birth the souls of the newly born, and to it the shades or spirits of the dead return. The occupations of the inhabitants of this nether world are not far different from those on the earth's surface. They perform ceremonies so intimately connected with those of terrestrial Hopi that an occult communication is supposed to exist between them, and many rites are performed simultaneously. This is recognized during the progress of ceremonies when the priest raps on the kiva floor to communicate with a synchronous assemblage of priests in the underworld, or calls through the hole in the floor to the germ goddess in the abode of spirits.

The specific names by which these personated ancients are known are in many instances the same as those of clans, living or extinct, which would in itself indicate an intimate relationship, which is greatly strengthened by the fact that the living members of a clan claim that the Katcina of the same name as that of their clan is their ancient or ancestor; thus the Bear Katcina is a spirit of the Bear clan. The fact that there are many Katcinas with names which do not appear in the roster of clans at Walpi need not weaken this conclusion; it can be accounted for in several ways: (1) A clan may have become extinct, and the Katcina bearing its name has so crystallized in the worship that the name has survived, or this particular Katcina become so fixed in the ritual during the life of the clan to which it belonged that it was not dropped when the clan became extinct. (2) A Katcina may have been borrowed or purchased from a neighboring tribe or pueblo, and never had a clan representative at Walpi. Katcinas of this class are numerous, and ordinarily bear the name of the tribe from which they were derived, Jemez, Zuni, Navajo, Apache. A man visits a distant pueblo, witnesses a Katcina dance, learns the characteristic songs, and, returning to Walpi, teaches the same to his people. Evidently such a Katcina is unrelated to any Walpi clan and may not even be related to clans among the people from which it was derived. (3) There is no doubt, also, that some of the Hopi Katcinas are inventions of individuals not represented by Walpi clans, and not derived. A man recognizes either in a vision or otherwise some object which he thinks will be efficacious ceremonially and he exalts it into a Katcina. Then, too, there are derivative or secondary names, modifications affording no clue to the meaning of the cultus. In those instances plains tribes shows that their conception of the future as related to their terrestrial residence has much in common with the Hopi idea.

where the Katcina and a clan bear the same name, we have more significant data. The Tcakwainas may be mentioned as an illustration of a Katcina and clan of the same name, which is appropriate in a general discussion, since this Katcina is said to be universally recognized by pueblos of Zuñian, Tanoan, and Keresan stocks, and because in its personation in Tusayan there is found the most complete collection of the several spirit relatives of a typical clan. The members of the Tcakwaina clan living at Sitcomovi consider the Tcakwaina Katcinas as their ancient kindred, and so explain the similarity of names.

Let us examine the method of Katcina worship as a preliminary to its interpretation. It is an almost universal idea of primitive man that prayers should be addressed to personations of the beings worshipped. In the carrying out of this conception men personate the Katcinas, wearing masks and dressing in the costumes characteristic of these beings. These personations represent to the Hopi mind their idea of the appearance of these Katcinas or clan ancients. The spirit beings represented in these personations appear at certain times in the pueblo, dancing before spectators, receiving prayers for needed blessings, as rain and good crops. These dances thus celebrate clan festivals or clan reunions in which the dead and the living participate.

Let us consider in detail the several Tcakwaina personations who are thus represented and their relation *inter se*, for there are several kinds of Tcakwainas which are personated.

By far the largest number of the personations bearing this name are males, and represent men of the spirit clan. With these are others representing women and called elder sisters; their masks and dress differing from those of their brothers, the men. One of these female personators is distinguished by symbolic markings on her mask and is called the mother, and there is still another called the grandmother.

Besides the twenty or more males above mentioned, we find one personation, also male, known as their uncle, the Tcakwaina uncle. A further examination of the relationship of the personations shows that they are all mother relatives or belong to a clan based on the maternal system. Judging from the example given it would seem that no father is personated, and the Tcakwainas which are represented have the same clan kinship as that which exists among the living. Turning now to other Katcinas, we detect similar conditions of clan relation, although we rarely find so complete a representation of all the spirit kin of a clan. In most of these personations, only two groups, brothers and sisters, are represented, the former more numerous dancing in line, singing traditional songs;

the latter kneeling before them either grinding corn on a metate or scraping a sheep scapula on a notched stick in rhythm with the song. In a few cases we find personations of brothers, and sisters, and a single male representing their uncle, mother and grandmother not being represented; or we may have the uncle missing and a personation of the mother with her children, brothers and sisters. Such syncopations are not objections to the theory of a maternal clan system among Katcinas, but are rather a confirmation of the conclusion that the Hopi believe that the spirit population of the nether world is organized in clans, just as is that living on the earth's surface. The dead retain membership in their earthly clan when they pass to the abode of spirits, and are not relieved from any clan obligation. Consider in passing the nature of this obligation. A clan as organized in primitive society has a right to expect each member to do his part in its support, and the ancient clan members are not exempt from this duty. They ought to contribute their part, and are personated in the clan festival for this very reason—that they may know the needs of the clan and use their exalted powers to fulfil their clan worship.

Here we come face to face with the significance of ancients or ancestor worship as exemplified among these people. The spirits of the dead are endowed with powers to aid the living in material ways; they have certain obligations to do so implied by their status in the clan. In the festival of the clan they or their personators are prayed to by the living chief of the clan to exert their powers and bring rain and good crops.

Two nature gods, regarded as anthropomorphic, rule the underworld where Katcinas or clan ancients live—the Sun and Earth. These are the parents of all clans, and in their hands are all forces of nature which bring material aid to an agricultural people. The worship of these two was a second step in the evolution of the religious sentiment to clan ancients worship and was taken independently by clans living apart. The same worship of the Sun and Earth evolved itself from ancestor worship in different clans, but the conception of the symbolism of the masks of these beings varied with the clans.

The theory that originally each clan had a sun mask with special symbolism is supported by the existence of sun masks now no longer used, in possession of these clans. Almost every large Hopi clan has one or more of these sun masks named from and owned by the chief of the clan. Thus we have Naka's mask, Wiki's mask, and masks of other chiefs. These are really the property of the clans of which these men are chiefs, and while in many instances these masks betray solar symbolism, it is combined with the totemic characteristics of the clan to which the mask belongs.

Consider the relationship between the souls of the dead and sun and earth gods. The subterranean world of which the clan ancients are denizens is the house of the sun and the earth goddess, the latter of whom gave birth to clans of men who later crawled from the underworld to the earth's surface through an opening called the *sipapu*. Here are generated the souls of the newly born on earth, and to this home of the Sun return the spirits of the dead. Mortals, even, have visited this place and returned to earth to tell of their adventure.¹

Theoretically in ancient times each clan, at the time of its family festival, personated its totemic ancient members and at the same time personated the Sun and Earth gods, making use of characteristic masks for these personations. At the present time many clans have lost the knowledge of their particular form of sun, earth, or clan totem mask, and there survive certain masked personifications, nondescripts, the clan of which has become extinct.

As a rule, Katcina dances are modified survivals of clan festivals in which spirit members of clans are personated. They are simply public dances in which sun and earth gods are not represented, and from which secret rites have disappeared. Certain survivals show the unabbreviated Katcina festival in which not only the ancients of the clan but also the Sun and Earth are personated, the festival being a collection of elaborate secret rites of many days' duration.

Let us consider one of these survivals, the festivals of the Katcina clan, of which two are celebrated in Walpi. These festivals dramatize the arrival and departure of the Katcinas, and are called by the Hopi the *Powamû*, and the *Niman*. The former occurs in February, the latter in July, and both are of several days' duration, and are accompanied by secret rites in which appear personations of the Sun and Earth and the spirit members of several clans. It appears that these festivals, originally limited to one clan, have become nuclei about which other clans have added the personations of their ancients. Hence in *Powamû* we find many different kinds of Katcinas, besides the ancients of the Katcina clan.

There are many things in the *Powamû* festival which are instructive in the study of Katcinas, but there is one that is especially so, a representation of an old man wearing a sun mask, and called Ahûla, the Returning One. This man personates the Sun; and it is but natural when the terrestrial members of a clan celebrate its festival in which personations of the ancients of that clan appear, that their great ancestor, the Sun Father, should also be personated. As he is chief, he leads the others in the dramatization of their return to the pueblo, which the *Powamû* celebrates.

¹ See legend of the Snake hero. The underworld is the home of the Sun and the Earth goddess of germs.

This personation of the Sun takes place first at night in the kiva or sacred room where secret rites are performed, when he is said to *yauma* or rise, the same word being used for sunrise. Several interesting rites are connected with his advent, which is witnessed only by the initiated. On the morning following, at sunrise, this same man, having arrayed himself and donned his sun mask at a shrine on the trail to the pueblo, enters the village guided by the chief of the Katcina clan, and is seen by all the people, for he goes from the home of one chief to another, and to the entrances to all the kivas, marking with sacred meal the doorposts, and presenting the occupants with bean sprouts which have been germinated in the heated rooms during the fortnight before. He receives in return small feather prayer offerings and handfuls of meal, prayers of the household. He turns to the rising sun at each house and makes six obeisances, uttering peculiar hoots as he does so, and then passes to the next house. This personator of the returning sun, as his name Ahūla indicates, is supposed to be the leader of the ancients of clans, the personators of which follow a few hours after, and for several days dance at intervals in the plazas in view of all the people.

This *Powamā* festival was originally a celebration of the return to the pueblo, by personators, of the ancients of the Katcina clan, led by a representation of the All Father, the Sun. In course of time several other clans have added to it personations of the ancients of their clans. Consequently there appear in it many Katcinas or clan ancients besides those which were formerly personated.

Another group of clans, living in Sitcomovi, but originally derived from Zuñi, are strong enough in numbers to hold a special festival in honor of the return of their spirit ancients. At this festival, which occurs in January, the sun gods¹ of several clans, as well as the ancients of those clans, are personated. The special name of the sun god who leads these clan ancients is Pautiwa.

The group of clans which come to Walpi from the south, or Palatkwabi, have their festival dramatizing the return of their sun god, a personator wearing a mask with symbolism different from that of both, either Ahūla or Pautiwa types. He appears at Walpi in the festival of the winter solstice or the return Katcina of the Raincloud clans. On the night of that part of the festival which pertains to the clans which come from the south, the Sun is personated in the sacred room or kiva by a man disguised as an eagle, as described in the following quotation, where he is called the Bird-man. "About 10 P. M. this man passed into the kiva, his entrance having been previously announced by balls of meal thrown through the hatchway upon

¹ The names of these sun gods are different, but there is a close similarity in the objective symbolism of their masks.

the floor, falling near the fireplace. He carried feathers in his hands, and, moving his arms up and down, imitated the motion of wings, as if flapping them like a bird.

"While he was performing these avian movements, the spectators sang a stirring song and the Bird-man slowly advanced to the middle of the room, imitating the gait of a bird and crouching in a squatting attitude. The motion of the wings and the bird-cries continued, the personator now and then raising his arms and letting them fall with a quivering motion. Once in the middle of the room, he laid the feathers on the floor and remained there for a short time without moving. He then arose and danced for a long time, accompanied by a woman who held in one hand an ear of corn, which she gracefully waved back and forth. She followed the Bird-man as he moved from place to place, and at the close of the dance took her seat near the right wall of the kiva, where she sat before the Bird-man entered the room.

"After the woman had taken her seat, the Bird-man continued the wing movements with his arms, stretching them at full length and then drawing them back to his body. He then proceeded to a pile of sand in a corner near the upraise; taking pointed sticks or reeds in his hand and halting before this mound of sand, he threw first one, then another, of the sticks into the sand, all the time imitating a bird in the movements of his body and simulating the bird-calls with a whistle. He then went to the *Soyáluña* woman who had danced with him; squatting before her, he uttered the strange bird-calls, and, making a pass, raised the small sticks which he carried from her feet to her head several times. He then returned to the mound of sand and again shot the sticks into it, after which he returned to the woman. This was repeated several times. The bird personator then returned to the middle of the kiva, before the altar, and, taking a bow and some arrows, danced for some time, while all the assembled priests sang in chorus. As the Bird-man danced, he raised the bow, fitted an arrow to it, faced the north, and drew the bowstring as if to shoot. This was repeated six times, the performer pointing the arrow to the cardinal directions in prescribed sinistral sequence.

"At the close of this part of the performance the songs ceased, and the Bird-man took his seat before the altar, while a priest at his right lit a conical pipe, and blew through it, on the body of the Bird-man, clouds of tobacco smoke. This smoke was not taken into the mouth, but the smoker placed the larger end between his lips, and blew through the tube, causing the smoke to issue from a small hole at the pointed end.¹ After prayers by one or more of the priests, the

¹ The relation of the religious fraternity to the clan will be discussed in some future article.

Bird-man again danced before the altar, at the same time imitating the movements of wings with his arms and bird-calls with a whistle in his mouth. He then left the room, and the calls could be heard as he went outside.

"This proceeding is interpreted as a symbolic dramatization or representation of the fertilization of the earth, and is an example of highly complicated sympathetic magic by which nature powers of sky and earth are supposed to be influenced. The Bird-man is a sun god, the return of whom the winter solstice ceremony commemorates."

The personation in public of this sun god takes place on the following morning, when a man representing the returning sun appears in the pueblo accompanied by two masked girls, one of whom is the same as the woman mentioned in the preceding description. He distributes seeds to all women, heads of clans, who come to the kiva entrance to receive these gifts.

The men who take part in this personation of the Sun god and celebrate his return do so not as members of a priesthood, but as members of the Raincloud and other clans which lived together before they came to Walpi. In the winter solstice ceremony the kiva in which each clan does its ritualistic work is the meeting-place of members of clans, not of priesthoods, and at that time the kiva represents the original clan home.

It has been shown above that there survive in the religious rites of the Hopi personations of sun gods in which the symbols on their masks vary considerably. The *Ahūla* symbol of the Katcina clan is somewhat different from that of *Ahūlani*, the Bird-man of the Raincloud clan. *Pautiwa*, Sun god of the Zuñi clans of Sitcomovi, differs in symbolism from both. The sun masks of the Badger clan, called *Wūwūyomo*, and that of *Wupamow* resemble each other in their symbolic markings, and are closely analogous to that of *Ahūla*. All are disk-form and have eagle feathers radiating peripherally about the border, in the midst of which hang bright red-stained horsehair. These masks also resemble in their symbolism disks representing the sun which are found painted on altars, or are worn on the backs of men who personate the solar god in public dances. Thus we conclude from these symbolic sun masks at Walpi that each clan has a distinctive symbolic sun mask, as well as characteristic masks of the ancient totemic beings of their clan. In a few festivals these sun masks are still used and the Sun is personated, as has been shown in *Powamū*, in the January ceremony of the Sitcomovi clans of Zuñi derivation, and in the winter solstice. There are other sun masks, the identity of which we detect by morphological symbolism, among which may be mentioned

Wupamow and *Wüwüyomo*, and still others where the identification is more or less speculative. Among the latter may be mentioned the avian personification called the *Shalakos*, the masks of which still preserve much solar symbolism.

In these *Shalakos* we find a morphological relation in the symbolism of their masks with that of the sun god of the Raincloud clans, rather than with that of *Ahüla* of the Katsina clan. The masks of *Shalako* have a crest of feathers representing the radiating feathers of sun masks, and the avian character of the personation is indicated by their feathered garments, or rather is symbolized by feathers tied at intervals to the blankets by which their giant bodies are covered. These avian sun gods, like *Ahüla*, sun god of the Katsina clan, visit houses, give and receive offerings, and in various actions dramatize the return of the sun whom they dramatize.

In addition to masked personages representing clan ancients and their father, the sun, there sometimes appears in a clan festival or Katsina dance a personation of the Earth-Mother. As the universal mother she is consequently the object of the worship of all. The Earth-Mother appears under various names, which differ in different clans, apparently indicating that before the various clans now composing any one Hopi pueblo were united, each was familiar with the conception of an Earth-Mother, and denominated this being by a clan name, as Old Woman,¹ Goddess of Germs, Spider Woman, and various other appellations. In some instances she is mentioned as the Grandmother, but is not considered a deified ancestral spirit of a mortal woman, as are her daughters, the cultus heroines of the clans, but, like the sun, is a great nature god. The Sun and the Earth are regarded by the Hopi as potent to aid them in their agricultural life, for they control natural forces which produce a food supply. But in the worship of these the pueblo Indian has not risen far above ancients' worship, for both sun and earth are spoken of as anthropomorphic parents — the one father, the other mother of all.

It is instructive to notice that in Hopi sun worship, at the winter solstice, we have the sun personated by a bird; but this conception, like other forms of beast-god worship, is an archaic survival. Primitive man regarded all animals as close relatives. Man had animal, and animals human characteristics of structure and disposition. He talked with them, and believed he was descended from them. When the germ of the religious sentiment originated, man looked upon himself as one of many groups of animals. It was perfectly natural for him to be influenced in the formation of fundamental religious ideas by this thought, which was engrafted into his earliest religious consciousness, and tenaciously clung there when culture widened the

¹ *Hahaiwügti*, *Muyiñwü*, *Kokyanwügti*, and various other names.

chasm between his mind and that of his brutish relatives. The widespread existence of beast gods in mythology is a survival of a universal belief, in the first stages of religious development, that man and beasts were originally related.

In those instances where beast worship underlies ancestor worship, it must not be hastily supposed that totemic animals which primitive men believe are ancestral are identical with living species. The personation of the Duck Katcina has little resemblance to a duck, or that of the Bear Katcina to a bear. Brinton, in his "Myths of the New World," went so far as to write that he did not believe that "a single example could be found where an Indian tribe had a tradition whose real purport was that man came by a natural process of descent from an ancestor, a brute, regarded merely as such." Other well-known students of primitive religions hold somewhat similar views. Katcina worship, then, is not that of an animal, plant, or other object which has given a totem, name, or symbol to a clan. It is not what is ordinarily called totemism, nor, strictly speaking, ancestor worship, for in a system of clans with matriarchal descent, the male ancients are not parents or ancestors of the living members of the clan. They are simply ancient members of the same; their sisters are literally ancestors of the worshippers.

The so-called dances or festivals in which the Katcinas take part are dramatizations, and the actors in them represent clan ancients, and the Sun and Earth. The celebration begins with the entry of these masked actors into the villages from some distant place outside the pueblos. Different clans have preserved different festivals dramatizing the advent of their ancients, but the departure of these clan ancients or Katcinas is represented in but one festival, the *Niman*, or Farewell, which occurs in July. The plan of dramatization of the coming of the clan ancients is practically the same in the three festivals in which it survives *in extenso*. First, the sun is personated by an unmasked man in the kiva; on the morning following, at sunrise, he appears in public wearing the sun mask and other paraphernalia of the sun, visiting different houses of the pueblo, receiving and presenting offerings. The clan ancients or Katcinas follow him at that time or shortly after. They dance in the plazas during one or more days, and at the close receive prayers for rain and crops.

The departure of these clan ancients is dramatized in the *Niman*, or Farewell, which has been elsewhere described. It is commonly said that when the clan ancients leave the pueblos they retire to their home in the San Francisco Mountains, which only partially states the Hopi belief. They are really supposed to return to the underworld, the entrance to which is the Sun-house or place of

sunset at the winter solstice. As seen from Walpi, the entrance to the Sun-house is indicated by a notch on the horizon situated between these mountains and the Eldon Mesa. Hence, when the clan ancients depart from Walpi, in the ceremony, they are commonly said to go to the San Francisco Mountains, where the trail leads to their abode, the underworld.

As has been shown, Katcina worship is psychologically a form of ancestor worship; its present purpose remains to be mentioned. The present purpose of any cult must be distinguished from that which it originally served; for as the environment and culture of man changes, his material wants also change, and with them his desires for supernal aid. The Hopi are agriculturists living in an arid environment; their food quest is corn, to raise which rain is necessary. Consequently the majority of all their ceremonies are for rain and abundant crops, and all their prayers to clan or other gods are to bring these things. While many of their totemic gods and a large number of their rites have originated since they reached the condition of maize farmers, their worship of ancients implied an older culture, as the nomenclature of certain of their clans indicates. These archaic gods were born before the Hopi became agriculturists and before they desired rain, and under changed conditions have been endowed with new powers. By this strange anachronism the Bear, Buffalo, and Antelope Katcina have become potent in bringing rain or causing crops to grow.

It is hardly probable that the Hopi in ancient times deified natural forces, nor had they reached that stage of development in which they believed atmospheric phenomena were controlled by special "gods;" but power over rain, lightning, and the like were regarded as attributable, and were delegated to rude supernal beings, survivals of archaic pre-agricultural conditions of culture. Ancients' worship is a psychological characteristic of man, one of the earliest forms of worship, whatever the nature of the food quest. As the food quest changes with culture, the nature of man's desires for supernal aid also changes, and archaic gods are endowed with corresponding attributes, but the gods themselves survive; man is always building new religious structures on the same old foundations, the worship of the ancients.

There is nothing in the above interpretation of the Katcinas as clan ancients out of keeping with the Hopi conception of other clan gods not of the masked variety to which Katcinas belong. The four or five great ceremonies between August and November in the Hopi ferial calendar are not Katcina festivals; no masked men appear in them, but they have the same clan ancients' worship, and that of the sun and earth gods, as in Katcina festivals. The methods of representing or personating the ancients and their symbols have

changed, for the clans of which they are the festivals are different ; but the scheme of the celebration, so far as ancients' worship is concerned, is identical.

Suppose we consider one of the best known Hopi ceremonials, the biennial festival called the snake dance. We find that it offers remarkable parallels to a Katcina festival in its general conception. It was originally the festival of two or more consolidated clans, the Snake and Horn, now represented in the personnel of celebrants by two fraternities of priests, the so-called Snakes and Antelopes. In the public dance, the ancients of the above-mentioned clans are publicly personated carrying reptiles, "elder brothers," likewise members, of the Snake clan. The Snake Maid, ancestress of the clan, is personated in the sacred or kiva rites, and the Snake Boy appears at the same time, as has been elsewhere described. The ancients of the Snake and Horn clans, known as Snake and Antelope priests, dance in the pueblo, the latter carrying reptiles, "elder brothers" of the former clan. The snake dance is a form of ancients' worship highly modified into a rain prayer.

Attention was called earlier in this article to the almost universal custom among primitive men of personating clan ancients by masked men, that prayers might be addressed more directly to them. These ancients may be personated in another way by images called idols. This method is common in representing the cultus hero and heroine of a clan on altars, but the two methods may coexist.

In the festival of the flute fraternity, the ancients are personated in the public dance by a boy and two girls, which on the altars are represented by images. The Sun and the Earth goddess are found in effigy or drawings on the same altars. The name given to the form of sun idol in which he is found on the flute altar is *Cotokinuuñ* (The Heart of the Sky), while the Earth goddess has the name *Muyinuñ*; but they are the same sun and earth personations with special clan names. The festivals known as basket dances, called by the Hopi the *Lalakoñti* and *Owakulti*, have an analogous personation of clan ancients, which are represented by boys and girls in public and by images on the altar. The same sun and earth gods are likewise symbolized by images or pictures.

In the woman's dance called the *Mamzrauti* we find the same thing; the names of sun and earth have changed, but the conceptions are identical.

The main conclusions arrived at in this article are that the masked personations called Katcinas originally represented ancients of clans, and that the symbolism of their masks is totemic in character. These Katcinas are shown to be organized in clans, and personations of them are limited to representations of clan relations on the

mother's side. In a few instances, living clans claim spirit or Katcina clans of the same name as their ancients. A Katcina dance was formerly a clan festival participated in by living members of a clan and by ancients of that clan. The latter, called Katcinas, were represented by men wearing masks, and other paraphernalia decorated with symbolic masks which legends ascribe to them. In addition to personations of these totemic ancients, each clan personated in its festival the sun, father of all, and the earth, mother of all members of the clan. These, like the clan ancients, wore masks and other paraphernalia distinctive of the clan in the festival of which they participated, but the special names of these varied with the clans.

There are at least three ceremonies called Katcina dances in which something like the original character of clan festivals survive. The majority of these dances, and these three to a certain extent, are abbreviated or modified by consolidation of several clan festivals. When thus abbreviated they are sometimes reduced to a masked dance, the personations in which are unrelated to any one clan, even to that which introduced the dance, and whose ancients are personated in it. Many Katcinas have become simply crystallized in the Hopi mind as traditional beings, and are recognized by certain symbols on their masks. Their relation to clans is no longer known; their original names have been lost, and no one can now tell their significance. A comparison of the symbolism of the masks of these obscure Katcinas with others better known may supply the information which has long been forgotten by the present Hopi and their immediate predecessors.

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